

SEC. 1175. PEER REVIEW.

"The Secretary shall designate a peer review panel to review applications submitted under this part and make recommendations for funding to the Secretary. In selecting the peer review panel, the Secretary may consult with other appropriate Cabinet-level Federal officials and with non-Federal organizations, to ensure that the panel will be geographically balanced and be composed of representatives from public and private institutions of higher education, labor, business, and State and local government, who have expertise in rural community service or in education.

SEC. 1176. DISBURSEMENT OF FUNDS.

"(a) **MULTIYEAR AVAILABILITY.**—Subject to the availability of appropriations, grants under this part may be made on a multiyear basis, except that no institution, individually or as a participant in a consortium, may receive a grant for more than 5 years.

"(b) **EQUITABLE GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION.**—The Secretary shall award grants under this part in a manner that achieves equitable geographic distribution of such grants.

"(c) **MATCHING REQUIREMENT.**—An applicant under this part and the local governments associated with its application shall contribute to the conduct of the program supported by the grant an amount from non-Federal funds equal to at least one-fourth of the amount grant, which contribution may be in cash or in kind, fairly evaluated.

SEC. 1177. DESIGNATION OF RURAL GRANT INSTITUTIONS.

"The Secretary shall publish a list of eligible institutions under this part and shall designate such institutions of higher education as 'Rural Grant Institutions'. The Secretary shall establish a national network of Rural Grant Institutions so that the results of individual projects achieved in 1 rural area can be generalized, disseminated, replicated and applied throughout the Nation.

SEC. 1178. DEFINITIONS.

"As used in this part:

"(1) **RURAL AREA.**—The term 'rural area' means any area that is—

"(A) outside an urbanized area, as such term is defined by the Bureau of the Census; and

"(B) outside any place that—

"(1) is incorporated or Bureau of the Census designated; and

"(2) has a population of 75,000 or more.

"(2) **ELIGIBLE INSTITUTION.**—The term 'eligible institution' means an institution of higher education, or a consortium of such institutions any one of which meets all the requirements of this paragraph, which—

"(A) is located in a rural area;

"(B) draws a substantial portion of its undergraduate students from the rural area in which such institution is located, or from contiguous areas;

"(C) carries out programs to make post-secondary educational opportunities more accessible to residents of such rural areas, or contiguous areas;

"(D) has the present capacity to provide resources responsive to the needs and priorities of such rural areas and contiguous areas;

"(E) offers a range of professional, technical, or graduate programs sufficient to sustain the capacity of such institution to provide such resources; and

"(F) has demonstrated and sustained a sense of responsibility to such rural area and contiguous areas and the people of such areas.

SEC. 1179. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS; FUNDING RULE.

"(a) **IN GENERAL.**—There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be nec-

essary in each fiscal year to carry out the provisions of this part.

"(b) **FUNDING RULE.**—If in any fiscal year the amount appropriated pursuant to the authority of subsection (a) is less than 50 percent of the funds appropriated to carry out part A in such year, then the Secretary shall make available in such year from funds appropriated to carry out part A an amount equal to the difference between 50 percent of the funds appropriated to carry out part A and the amount appropriated pursuant to the authority of subsection (a)."

SEC. 502. DEMONSTRATION PROJECT.

"(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Subtitle H of title I of the National and Community Service Act of 1990 (as added by section 104(c) of this Act) is amended by adding at the end the following:

"SEC. 198D. SPECIAL DEMONSTRATION PROJECT.

"(a) **SPECIAL DEMONSTRATION PROJECT FOR THE YUKON-KUSKOKWIM DELTA OF ALASKA.**—The President may award grants to, and enter into contracts with, organizations to carry out programs that address significant human needs in the Yukon-Kuskokwim delta region of Alaska.

"(b) **APPLICATION.**—

"(1) **GENERAL REQUIREMENTS.**—To be eligible to receive a grant or enter into a contract under subsection (a) with respect to a program, an organization shall submit an application to the President at such time, in such manner, and containing such information as the President may require.

"(2) **CONTENTS.**—The application submitted by the organization shall, at a minimum—

"(A) include information describing the manner in which the program will utilize VISTA volunteers, individuals who have served in the Peace Corps, and other qualified persons, in partnership with the local not-for-profit organizations known as the Yukon-Kuskokwim Health Corporation and the Alaska Village Council Presidents;

"(B) take into consideration—

"(i) the primarily noncash economy of the region; and

"(ii) the needs and desires of residents of the local communities in the region; and

"(C) include specific strategies, developed in cooperation with the Yupik speaking population that resides in such communities, for comprehensive and intensive community development for communities in the Yukon-Kuskokwim delta region."

"(b) **TABLE OF CONTENTS.**—Section 1(b) of the National and Community Service Act of 1990 (Public Law 101-610; 104 Stat. 3127) is amended by inserting after the item relating to section 198C of such Act the following:

"Sec. 198D. Special demonstration project."

SUPPLEMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 1993**PRESSLER AMENDMENT NOS. 710-712**

(Ordered referred to the Committee on Appropriations.)

Mr. PRESSLER submitted three amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H.R. 2667) making emergency supplemental appropriations for relief from the major, widespread flooding in the Midwest for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1993, and for other purposes; as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 710

At the appropriate place, insert the following new section:

SEC. . (a) Section 1033(e) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (relating to livestock

sold on account of drought) is amended by inserting "or flooding" each place it appears in the text and heading thereof.

(b) The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to taxable years ending after December 31, 1992.

AMENDMENT NO. 711

After section 701, insert the following new section:

SEC. 702. In any case in which the Secretary of Agriculture finds that the farming, ranching, or aquaculture operations of producers on a farm have been substantially affected by a natural disaster in the United States or by a major disaster or emergency designated by the President under the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act (42 U.S.C. 5121 et seq.) during the 1993 crop year, at the option of the producers, the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation shall exclude the yield and rate for the 1993 crop of a commodity for the farm for purposes of calculating yields for the farm under the Federal Crop Insurance Act (7 U.S.C. 1501 et seq.).

AMENDMENT NO. 712

After section 701, insert the following new section:

SEC. 70. In any case in which the Secretary of Agriculture finds that the farming, ranching, or aquaculture operations of producers on a farm have been substantially affected by a natural disaster in the United States or by a major disaster or emergency designated by the President under the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act (42 U.S.C. 5121 et seq.) during the 1993 crop year, the Secretary of Agriculture shall not require any repayment under subparagraph (G) or (H) of section 114(a)(2) of the Agricultural Act of 1949 (7 U.S.C. 1445(a)(2)) for the 1993 crop of a commodity prior to January 1, 1994.

COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE, AND THE JUDICIARY APPROPRIATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1994**RIEGLE (AND OTHERS) AMENDMENT NO. 713**

Mr. HOLLINGS (for Mr. RIEGLE) (for himself, Mr. ROCKEFELLER, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. DANFORTH, Mr. LEVIN, and Mr. MITCHELL) proposed an amendment to the bill, H.R. 2519, supra, as follows:

On page 49, line 10, strike "\$328,922,000" and insert "\$242,642,000, of which \$13,720,000 shall be for Trade Adjustment Assistance."

On page 60, line 7, strike "\$300,000,000" and insert "\$298,000,000".

LEVIN (AND OTHERS) AMENDMENT NO. 714

Mr. HOLLINGS (for Mr. LEVIN) (for himself, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. GLENN, Mr. KOHL, Mr. DURENBERGER, and Mr. D'AMATO) proposed an amendment to the bill, H.R. 2519, supra, as follows:

Page 68, line 16, strike "\$1,358,184,000" and insert "\$1,653,184,000".

Page 75, line 6, strike "\$14,200,000" and insert "\$18,200,000".

Page 75, line 6, after ":", insert, "Provided, that \$4,000,000 shall be made available to the Great Lakes Fishery Commission for the registration of the pesticide, TFM."

the troops, and pushed back past the 38th parallel, regaining much ground that had been lost to the enemy. After General MacArthur was relieved of his command, President Truman named General Ridgway as supreme commander in the Far East, placing him in charge of all United Nations forces operating in Korea.

Ridgway was later named supreme commander of Allied powers in Europe, where he expanded NATO forces from 12 divisions to 80 and brought cohesion to the NATO alliance. His career peaked when President Eisenhower named him Chief of Staff of the Army, a post which he held until his resignation from active service in 1955.

Mr. President, Gen. Matthew Ridgway was a man of courage and character, an outstanding soldier, and a great patriot. He will be remembered as one of the fathers of the airborne, and his accomplishments provided an example which commanders of today still seek to emulate. Those of us who fought with him deeply appreciated his sound leadership and his deep concern for the men under his command.

Our country has lost one of its greatest fighting generals with the passing of General Ridgway. Our Nation should never forget his courage and ability, and the sacrifices he made to preserve our freedom.

I would like to take this opportunity to extend my deepest sympathy to his wife, Penny, and the rest of his fine family at this time of sorrow.

TRIBUTE TO MR. NATHAN JORDAN JOHNSTON

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to one of South Carolina's finest sons, Nathan Jordan Johnston, who recently passed away at age 89. He was a good friend who dedicated himself to public service and improving life for the citizens of our State.

Born in 1904, Mr. Johnston attended public schools for his primary and secondary education and graduated from the University of Florida in 1927. Two years later, his election as chairman of the Hampton County Board of Education and Superintendent of Education, began his lifelong involvement in public service. After a successful term in Hampton County, Mr. Johnston moved on to the Varnville Public School System where he served as superintendent of schools for 8 years. During his tenure there, he made many improvements in the quality of education his pupils received. Forming a consolidated school district, Jordan was able to raise the tax base and increase both the number of teachers and students who attended his schools.

As war raged in Europe and the United States began to prepare for a possible military conflict, Mr. Johnston was appointed as a captain in the Coast Artillery Corps of the South Carolina National Guard. As this unit's commander, he was to recruit, organize,

and command Battery D of the 107th AAA Battalion. After training at Fort Stewart, GA, Johnston and his unit soon found themselves overseas, fighting the Axis enemy. He retired from the military in 1946 as a lieutenant colonel, having served his Nation bravely during the greatest armed conflict in history.

Shortly after returning to the United States, Mr. Johnston found himself in the public sector yet again, this time as the treasurer of Hampton County. He served in this important position for 21 years before retiring in 1970.

Mr. Johnston's service to the community did not end at the door of his office or the end of the workday. A tireless volunteer, he served as the treasurer of the Estill Methodist Church and the Hampton County unit of the American Cancer Society. He was also involved with the American Legion. He was a trustee of Patrick Henry Academy; belonged to a number of military, patriotic, and professional organizations; and was a charter member of the Hampton Lions Club. Additionally, he was past president of the South Carolina Association of County Treasurers and the Hampton County Education Association.

Despite all the demands of his duties as county treasurer and the many organizations to which he belonged, Mr. Johnston was also a devoted family man. He and his lovely wife Helen raised a fine son, Coy Johnston, who has worked hard to establish one of this Nation's most ambitious conservation projects, the Ace Basin, a reality. Mr. Johnston was also proud of his three grandchildren, one of whom is my exceptionally capable and dedicated executive assistant, Holly Richardson.

Mr. President, Nathan Johnston exemplified the very best qualities. He spent 39 years of his life selflessly serving others while contributing to the safety and improvement of his State and Nation. I was proud to call him a friend, and I know that he will be missed by a large circle of friends and relatives.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Let the Chair note that the time for morning business has expired.

DEPARTMENTS OF COMMERCE, JUSTICE, AND STATE, THE JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT OF 1994

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will now proceed to the consideration of H.R. 2519, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 2519) making appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice,

and State, the Judiciary, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1994, and for other purposes.

Pending:

D'Amato amendment No. 698 (to committee amendment beginning on page 8, line 16), to apply the constitutional drug kingpin death penalty procedure for terrorist activities and bombing offenses under section 844 of title 18, United States Code, that result in the death of a person.

AMENDMENT NO. 698

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Let the Chair note one other item here. The pending question is the D'Amato amendment No. 698 to the committee amendment on page 8, line 16.

The Senator from Alaska is recognized.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, I have come to the floor to support the amendment proposed by the Senator from New York. I am not certain that all Members of the Senate realize that nearly all Federal crimes which now carry the death penalty by law, including terrorist attacks, lack specific legal authorization to establish constitutional procedures to allow the courts to carry out the death penalty.

This defect means that even if terrorists who are accused of crimes as heinous as the bombing of the World Trade Center are convicted, there are no procedures to allow the current death penalty required by law to be carried out and to result in execution.

Such people would not be executed under New York law either. Under Federal law, bombing of buildings such as the World Trade Center containing Federal offices is punishable by death under section 844(f) of title 18 of the United States Code. However, because of Supreme Court decisions, there are constitutional defects in the procedure under this and nearly all other Federal death penalty statutes which would, in effect, prohibit executions from being carried out even if ordered by the courts.

Senator D'AMATO's amendment would cure this problem by applying procedures that have been found to be constitutional to the crimes of terrorist bombings and other terrorist acts. These are the same procedures that we have adopted—we adopted them in 1988 for murders occurring during drug crimes. Those procedures have passed the Senate a number of times. Senator D'AMATO's amendment also cures the constitutional defects which prevent the imposition of death penalties for murder occurring as a result of mail bombs.

I particularly come to the floor this morning because of a tragic example of the need for this provision that recently took place in Alaska.

A Federal court refused to permit the U.S. Government to seek the death penalty for a mail bombing which killed an Alaskan and seriously injured his wife. The court found the statute failed to include the statutes that had been prescribed by the Supreme Court

to establish the procedures that I mentioned before.

In this case, the son of the victim was the actual target of the crime. He was the target of the bomb, and the bomb was sent in retaliation for the son's testimony against the perpetrators in an earlier murder case. In fact, the crime was planned in prison while the individuals were serving time for committing another senseless murder.

I have heard opponents of the death penalty say that the death penalty is not a deterrent. In my judgment, the Alaska tragedy refutes this argument.

With persons in prison indefinitely, execution is the only credible sanction that is available to deter them from committing similar crimes. For such individuals, jail time appears to be no deterrent at all. As I said, these people actually planned the mail-bomb murders while in jail. And there is no real coherent set of procedures under State law that would take care of this circumstance.

Here in the Senate, we passed a bill instituting constitutional death penalty procedures for all Federal death-penalty crimes, including mail bombing, in October of 1990. That was just before the tragic mail-bombing case that I mentioned in Alaska. But the bill never became law.

We have repeatedly passed legislation to comply with the Supreme Court's decisions that require specific procedures to carry out the death penalty prescribed by law, but those procedures have not become law because of problems with the other body.

It is my hope the Senate will again take this opportunity to try to reinstate the death penalty for these terrorists, for mail bombers and others who commit these heinous crimes. We have already enacted the death penalty for these crimes and we believe they should result in the death penalty being carried out.

Now, I understand that the Senator from New York will modify his amendment further today. I encourage him to do so because there are additional procedures that should be spelled out specifically in his amendment.

Again, I have heard some people in the Senate raise the question as to why this amendment is being brought up at this time. We have been raising this amendment in the Senate now since 1988. The Senate has each time passed it, enacted it, and sent it to the House.

I urge that the Members of the House realize that these increasing terrorist attacks throughout our country, should they result in conviction and imposition of the death penalty, they cannot be carried into execution because of our failure to comply with the Supreme Court decisions which require that specific procedures be followed in the court cases where the death penalty is to be imposed.

Mr. President, I see my good friend from New York is here. I want to congratulate him for his amendment and

urge him to make the modification that we have discussed.

I would call to the attention of the Senator from New York that the Senator from Michigan has been seeking the floor. But when the Senator has the floor, I do hope that he will make the modifications we have discussed.

I urge the Senate to heed the advice of the Senator from New York. His State has been the victim of numerous terrorist activities. The Senator himself has been under a serious terrorist threat.

If we are going to have the death penalty in the Federal statutes, I do not know why we do not comply with the Supreme Court's opinions and make them effective. It is just a matter of defective procedures. The death penalty issue is already settled. We are talking about the procedures to carry out the death penalty that is required by law.

I hope the Senate will listen to the Senator from New York.

Mr. LEVIN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. WELLSTONE). The Senator from Michigan is recognized.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, might I ask my colleague, my good friend, Senator LEVIN, if he would permit me, for purposes of the record, to submit at this time my modification as requested by the Senator from Alaska.

The modification would simply include those sections that deal with mail bombings and is specifically included so that it would be covered.

Right now, if there is an interstate bombing, there is no question, as it relates to mail, that it would be covered. If there is intrastate—within the State—though, then it is open. This modification would clearly bring mail bombers within the purview of this legislation.

Mr. LEVIN. For that limited purpose, I would have no objection. The Senator would then yield back to me?

Mr. D'AMATO. Certainly.

Mr. LEVIN. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the Senator from New York be allowed to modify his amendment as he indicated; that I then be again recognized; and that this not count against the rules of the Senate relative to two speeches.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. D'AMATO. I thank my colleague.

AMENDMENT NO. 698, AS MODIFIED

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I submit my amendment for modification as indicated.

What it would do is include mail bombing by referring to a violation of subsection (a) of title 18, United States Code, section 1716, injurious articles as nonmailable.

The modification comes on page 2.

I ask that it be printed in the RECORD as modified.

Again, the modification of my amendment explicitly includes mail bombing.

I thank Senator LEVIN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. This will be put in as a matter of regular order.

The Senator has a right to modify his amendment and the amendment is so modified.

The amendment (No. 698), as modified, is as follows:

At the end of pending amendment, add the following:

CONSTITUTIONAL DEATH PENALTY PROCEDURES FOR CAUSING DEATH BY TERRORIST ACTIVITY OR BOMBING.

(a) DEATH PENALTY PROCEDURES.—Title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting after chapter 27 the following new chapter:

"CHAPTER 28—DEATH PENALTY PROCEDURES

"Sec.

"3591. Definitions.

"3592. Sentence of death.

"§ 3591. Definitions

"In this chapter—

" 'capital offense' means an offense that constitutes—

"(A) a violation of subsection (d), (f), or (i) of section 844;

"(B) a violation of subsection (a) of section 1716; or

"(C) a terrorist activity.

" 'terrorist activity' means—

"(A) the hijacking or sabotaging of an aircraft, vessel, vehicle, or other conveyance;

"(B) the seizing or detaining of a person and threatening to kill, injure, or continue to detain the person for the purpose of compelling another person (including a government organization) to perform or refrain from performing any act as an explicit or implicit condition for the release of the seized or detained person;

"(C) a violent attack on an internationally protected person (as defined in section 1116(b)(4)) or on the liberty of such a person;

"(D) an assassination; and

"(E) the use of a biological agent, chemical agent, or nuclear weapon or device with intent to endanger, directly or indirectly, the safety of a person or to cause substantial damage to property.

"§ 3592. Sentence of death

"(a) IN GENERAL.—A sentence of death for a capital offense may be imposed only if—

"(1) the defendant caused the death of a person intentionally, knowingly, or through recklessness manifesting extreme indifference to human life, or caused the death of a person through the intentional infliction of serious bodily injury; and

"(2) the sentence is imposed in accordance with the procedures set forth in section 406 (g), (h), (i), (j), (k), (l), (m), (n), (o), (p), (q), and (r) of the Controlled Substances Act (21 U.S.C. 846 (g), (h), (i), (j), (k), (l), (m), (n), (o), (p), (q), and (r)), except that for the purposes of a violation of that law, the references to "this section" in section 406(g) and (h)(1) and "subsection (e)" in section 408(i)(1), (j), (k) (each place it appears), and (p) of the Controlled Substances Act shall be deemed to be references to that subsection.

"(b) EXCLUSIVITY.—No rule of law, including a rule contained in a law under which an offense is committed, may be applied in determining whether a penalty of death shall be imposed in a particular case, other than the procedures described in subsection (a). Those procedures supersede all other provisions of law that pertain to whether a penalty of death shall be imposed in any particular case (not including the authorization of the penalty itself)."

"(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall take effect on the date of enactment of this Act notwithstanding any other provision of this Act.

Mr. D'AMATO. I thank my colleague. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan is recognized.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, before I address the amendment of the Senator from New York, which is pending, I want to comment briefly on some events that are now occurring in Bosnia that are of critical importance.

ON THE USE OF MULTINATIONAL AIR STRIKES TO PROTECT U.N. FORCES IN BOSNIA

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, this morning's Washington Post reports that NATO air strikes, involving the assets of the United States and our allies, may be an imminent possibility in Bosnia. This should come as a surprise to nobody, in fact I believe it will be welcomed by the world community and the American people as long overdue. The United Nations and NATO have been assembling the capability for months to protect UNPROFOR forces on the ground against attacks by Serbian or other factions.

On June 4, the U.N. Security Council passed its resolution number 836, to establish protected safe havens in Bosnia. Paragraph 10 of that resolution states that U.N. member states or regional organizations are authorized to support U.N. forces by "all necessary measures, through the use of air power, in and around the safe areas in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina."

At a foreign ministers meeting in Athens, Greece just 1 week later, NATO approved a plan to act on this U.N. authority. In the final communiqué on June 10, NATO ministers declared:

In response to U.N. Security Council Resolution 836 and the expanded UNPROFOR mandate related to safe areas, we offer our protective airpower in case of attack against UNPROFOR in the performance of its overall mandate, if it so requests.

The design of the NATO and U.N. arrangements intentionally puts decisions about when to retaliate against attacks on U.N. forces in the proper hands. A U.N. commander on the ground, under attack, can radio a request for air strikes against his attackers from NATO forces on call.

The military command and communications arrangements have been put into place over the last 6 weeks. Most of the planes and equipment needed were in the region and have been transferred to local bases in Italy and other NATO countries. The NATO Airborne Command and Control Center is ready. Forward air controllers from the national forces of the United Kingdom, France and Canada, under UNPROFOR command, are in place in Sarajevo. The UNPROFOR Air Operations Coordination Center has or will imminently become operational in Kisseljak, Bosnia.

And the U.N. Secretary General, who must approve the use of this capability in the first instance, and only the first instance, has made arrangements to give his approval and notify the Security

Council in the shortest possible time. On Monday I visited with the Secretary General's Undersecretary for Peacekeeping, Mr. Kofi Annan, who reaffirmed this.

On June 30, the Pentagon spelled out precisely the arrangements that exist for U.N. forces to request air cover. I ask unanimous consent that the June 30 letter to me from Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Mr. Walter Slocombe, be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. LEVIN. The safe havens plan has been justifiably criticized for several reasons. But while the United Nations still has not mustered sufficient forces to carry it out entirely, Sarajevo is designated a safe haven. But it has been anything but safe for the U.N. forces on the ground there.

Last Sunday, French troops under U.N. command came under direct shelling in the Olympic Stadium they were using as headquarters. The headquarters was well known and well marked as a U.N. facility. There is little doubt the attack was intentional.

It has been argued that U.N. peacekeepers on the ground would be jeopardized by airstrikes. But by having the ground units themselves make the decision, individual U.N. commanders will determine when airstrikes would help alleviate the danger they face and when such strikes would jeopardize their forces.

Establishing NATO's capacity to use force in Bosnia right now is a crucial step. It can and should be used to retaliate for attacks against any of the thousands of U.N. troops already in the region. Having made the breakthrough with our European allies at the Security Council and NATO to authorize and prepare, for the first time, the use of multinational air power in support of U.N. troops on the ground in the former Yugoslavia, it would be a mistake not to use that capacity when the circumstances clearly merit action. The American people need to know that for the first time airstrikes are a real possibility.

Using NATO air power to help U.N. ground forces protect safe havens, including Sarajevo, is something we can build on to actually stop the killing and protect what is left of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Using this multinational force to provide air cover against attacks on U.N. forces is one of several actions the world should take immediately to help contain the war. The fragile new democracies in the region are desperate for a show of NATO force that might prevent Serb aggression from spreading to their countries and elsewhere in the Balkans.

A second step we need to take is to close the holes in the sanctions against Serbia, or they are not going to work. The United Nations should toughen the mandate of its forces who are currently

only monitoring so that they can interdict illegal commerce. Right now they are just standing there counting trucks and rail cars streaming into Serbia, while in the Adriatic a naval task force is stopping ships. The United Nations must stop trucks and trains from streaming across the Macedonian border, and any other porous points. This may require providing some compensation for the countries who have relied almost entirely on Serbia for trade, but why not make that additional investment to make our already large expenditure on sanctions enforcement more effective?

Third, we should do what we easily can do, with little risk, to get outside information into Serbia and Croatia, whose national governments currently dominate broadcast propaganda on radio and TV. The United States has an airplane with the capacity to override Serbian radio and television broadcasts and replace them with our own programming, or programs produced by the United Nations. The plane, named Commando Solo, was used with great effectiveness during the gulf war.

At any time during the last 2 years, the United States could have flown Commando Solo near Serbian or Croatian territory—and it can right now—to provide residents with a window on their own troops' ethnic cleansing, the world's outrage, or the resolve of the United Nations. No satellite dish would be needed, just a normal TV or radio antenna.

Even allowing for the Serbian citizenry's carefully-fueled suspicion of foreigners, imagine the impact of viewing on Serbian state-run television the trial and confession of Serb-soldier Borislav Herak to committing horrible rapes, torture and killings under direct orders. Herak's entire trial played to American cable television audiences on "Court-TV," but his own countrymen have not seen his free admission to these war crimes.

It has been suggested that such broadcasts would violate Serbian or Croatian sovereignty by infringing on their national control of the airwaves. Yet NATO has tens of thousands of troops and hundreds of ships and planes enforcing an international blockade and a no-fly zone, infringements on sovereignty which inflict far greater costs on Serbia and Croatia than Commando Solo ever would.

Imposing "equal time for responsible opposing viewpoints" on the residents of the former Yugoslavia will not, by itself, end the war there or topple the region's dictators, but it should be part of a strategy to contain the conflict and undermine expansionist ambitions. Commando Solo is one of the tools of democracy that could be applied at relatively little cost in dollars or risk to American lives.

Nobody is satisfied with the steps our country and our allies have taken in Bosnia. The horrible tragedy sickens us, and it should make us worry that the very multinational security insti-